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ABSTRACT

Changes between 1960 and 1970 in the private sector's share of a city's white pupil enrollment are closely associated with changes in the racial demographic makeup of the city. Even when holding constant such factors as the age of a city's housing stock and the ethnic composition of its white population, the private share of white enrollment in the cities outside of the South increased in cities with large black populations. The proportion of private white enrollment also increased in cities where the number of black school children grew rapidly but the number of white school children declined or remained steady. Differences in the amount of school desegregation that occurred, however, were not related to private school enrollment trends, except for high school students in Southern cities. Additional variations in private school enrollment trends can be explained by social and political factors, but these factors do not account for the means by which the demographic changes that were occurring were translated into parent enrollment decisions. It may be that policies intended to financially support private schools greatly influence the rise in private enrollments in cities with large and growing black populations and declining white populations.
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# THE IMPACT OF RACIAL COMPOSITION AND PUBLIC SCHOOL DESEGREGATION ON CHANGES IN NON-PUBLIC SCHOOL ENROLLMENT BY WHITE PUPILS

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## Introductory Statement

The Center for Social Organization of Schools has two primary objectives: to develop a scientific knowledge of how schools affect their students, and to use this knowledge to develop better school practices and organization.

The Center works through four programs to achieve its objectives. The Policy Studies in School Desegregation program applies the basic theories of social organization of schools to study the internal conditions of desegregated schools, the feasibility of alternative desegregation policies, and the interrelation of school desegregation with other equity issues such as housing and job desegregation. The School Organization program is currently concerned with authority-control structures, task structures, reward systems, and peer group processes in schools. It has produced a large-scale study of the effects of open schools, has developed Student Team Learning instructional processes for teaching various subjects in elementary and secondary schools, and has produced a computerized system for school-wide attendance monitoring. The School Process and Career Development program is studying transitions from high school to post secondary institutions and the role of schooling in the development of career plans and the actualization of labor market outcomes. The Studies in Delinquency and School Environments program is examining the interactions of school environments, school experiences, and individual characteristics in relation to in-school and later-life delinquency.

This report, prepared by the Policy Studies in School Desegregation program, is part of the program's examination of the role of non-public schools in the school desegregation process.

Abstract

Although enrollments in non-public schools have been declining nationally since 1965, there have been major local variations. In this paper, it is shown that changes between 1960 and 1970 in the non-public sector's share of a city's white pupil enrollment is closely associated with changes in the racial demographic makeup of the city. Even when holding constant such factors as the age of a city's housing stock and the ethnic composition of its white population, the non-public share of white enrollment in cities outside of the South increased in cities with large black populations, and in cities where the number of black schoolchildren grew rapidly but the number of white schoolchildren declined or remained steady. Differences in the amount of school desegregation that occurred, however, were not related to non-public enrollment trends, except for high school students in Southern cities.

Several dimensions of the social and political climate of the cities explained additional variation in non-public school enrollment trends, but these factors do not account for the means by which the demographic changes that were occurring were translated into parent enrollment decisions.

It is suggested that policies intended to financially support non-public schools may have their greatest impact in raising non-public enrollments in cities with large and growing black populations and declining white populations.

RATIONALE

The proportion of children going to non-public elementary and secondary schools in the United States has been declining for the past fifteen years. In 1959-60, about 14% of American schoolchildren attended private and parochial schools. By 1975-76, an estimated 9% were attending such schools ("School Enrollment Trends," 1976). The reasons given for the decline include increased school tuition costs, the outward expansion of metropolitan housing, and a decreasing influence of the religious perspective in an increasingly cosmopolitan nation (Adams, 1976).

Non-public enrollments, however, have not declined in all areas of the country, and there have been major variations by sponsorship categories. For example, although Catholic-affiliated schools declined 40% in enrollment between 1965 and 1975, schools sponsored by evangelical Protestant groups multiplied their school populations by a factor of 4 or 5. Other school groups--non-sectarian private schools and Lutheran-affiliated schools, for example--had constant or modestly increasing enrollments over this period (Erickson, et al., 1977).

States in the Southern United States differed markedly from the rest of the country in their non-public school enrollment trends. In the Northeast, the Midwest, and the Western states, the proportion of students attending non-public schools declined by one-third between 1960 and 1975. However, in the Southeastern states the non-public share <u>increased</u> during those years from about 6% to 9% of the area's total school enrollment.

These regional and religious variations in the non-public enrollment trend suggest that we are <u>not</u> witnessing a major national movement away from private sponsorship of schooling, but that local factors are the dominating

influence. Besides religious and regional factors, another outstanding factor that may be contributing to local variations in non-public enrollments concerns the issue of race. In particular, it is commonly claimed that many white families, upon perceiving the threat of an unfavorable racial balance at the public school to which their children are assigned, will choose instead to pay the added cost of non-public school tuition.

Although it is profoundly important to know to what degree such racially motivated behavior is occurring, unfortunately we have no broad national data to measure the relationship between school racial composition and individual school enrollment decisions. However, residents of all cities do not have an equal "risk" of locally integrated schools. U.S. cities differ widely both in population racial composition and in the frequency of racially heterogeneous schools. Thus, if the threat of substantial racial heterogeneity does cause white parents to be more likely to select a non-public school for their children, cities having increasing numbers of white parents facing such a "threat" will be cities whose non-public share of white pupil enrollment is increasing, relative to cities with more consistently racially homogeneous schools.

This paper addresses the question of "white flight" into non-public schools, using aggregate demographic and school enrollment data about cities. As a first step, we shall see whether cities that have experienced the greatest increases (or the least declines) in the non-public school share of white pupil enrollment are the same cities that had initially larger black public school populations, cities that experienced larger increases in this population, and cities that had the most extensive desegregation of their public schools.

Secondly, multiple regression procedures will be employed to statistically control for other city characteristics that have tended to parallel racial demographic changes occurring in U.S. cities. By holding constant such dimensions as the condition of the city's housing stock and the ethnic composition of its white population, we can at least sharply reduce the risk of drawing faulty conclusions between race and enrollment variables.

Finally, social science is most useful when it can identify socially malleable mechanisms by which prior variables affect subsequent ones. For example, if social and political factors in city life respond to demographic changes in the population and in turn affect household responses to these changes, it is important for policy purposes to identify these "intervening variables." Thus, this paper also examines certain measures of the cities' racial, political, and educational climate that also appear to be related to white flight into non-public schools.

In summary, this paper focuses on changes in the proportion of white school-age children who are enrolled in non-public elementary and secondary schools, and on race-related demographic factors hypothesized to be partly responsible for such changes.[1]

The proportion of white pupils residing in a city who attend non-public schools can increase as a result of any of three distinct demographic processes: by direct transfers from public to non-public schools; by a larger fraction of the school-entering population enrolling in non-public schools than the proportion of the group that graduated; or by the public schools providing a disproportionate share of white out-migrants--suburb-goers, for

example. Unfortunately, only an analysis of individual-level school-enrollment histories could distinguish among these processes. City-level consideration of race-specific changes in non-public enrollment and their relationship to race-specific demographic changes cannot suggest which of these processes is operating. Nevertheless, to the extent that any of them are occurring to a greater degree in cities with large and growing black populations, or in cities where school desegregation is taking place, their effects on resegregation of black and white school-age pupils are essentially the same.

METHOD

Demographic and school enrollment data on 157 U.S. cities were gathered from 1960 and 1970 U.S. Census reports and from recent articles and papers on school and residential segregation within U.S. cities (Coleman, et al., 1976; Sorensen, et al., 1975; Farley, 1975; Rossell, 1975-76). Data on the racial, political and educational climate in 86 of these cities, circa 1968, were obtained from a survey of civil rights and school politics in non-Southern U.S. cities conducted by Robert Crain (Kirby, Harris, and Crain, 1973).

Of the 157 cities in our data-base, 48 are in the portion of the South that retained considerable elements of its two-tier educational system after the 1954 Supreme Court decision on segregated schools. Because of the distinct initial differences of this region, we will consider it separately for the most part in our analysis.[2]

RESULTS

Changes in the Non-Public Share of White Enrollment

Figure 1 shows the proportions of white schoolchildren who were en-

rolled in non-public schools in 1960 and in 1970 in the largest 52 of our 157 cities.[3] The large cities whose non-public share of white enrollment increased during the 1960s were Southern cities and, to a lesser extent, Northern cities with relatively large black populations. These cities (in descending order according to the size of the increase) were: Washington, D.C., Atlanta, Kansas City, Tampa, Miami, Jacksonville, Charlotte, Dallas, Nashville, Birmingham, Fort Worth, Philadelphia, Detroit, Newark, New York City, and Oakland. Smaller cities with increases in their non-public shares were also cities with large black populations: Jackson, Mississippi; Mount Vernon, New York; Atlantic City, New Jersey; East St. Louis, Illinois; Durham, North Carolina; and Chester, Pennsylvania. For all 157 cities, the correlation between the percent black in the 1960 public schools and the change in the proportion of white schoolchildren attending non-public schools was substantial ($r = .46$).

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Figure 1 About Here

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Table 1 gives the means and standard deviations of most of the city characteristics we shall consider initially in our analyses. Although the regional differences in trends in non-public enrollment by white pupils are not so striking as the overall national data suggested, there are some interesting differences. While Southern cities experienced an increase in the share of white elementary school enrollment going to non-public schools, the non-public share of high school enrollment declined. The opposite pattern is observed for cities outside the South: non-public enrollment shares for elementary schools declined in most non-Southern cities, but

the mean value for high school students actually increased.

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Table 1 About Here

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The Southern and non-Southern cities had very different experiences of racial demographic change in the 1960s. The 48 Southern cities started the 1960s with a greater proportion of blacks among their public school students than did the remaining 109 cities. On the other hand, they experienced smaller increases of black students during the decade. However, public schools in the South experienced a greater reduction in the level of racial segregation of pupils and teachers. The index measuring the level of racial segregation of teachers (dissimilarity index; Farley, 1975) declined by an average of half its maximum value between 1967 and 1970 in the Southern cities. Although student segregation declined by only a fourth as much, this was still twice the reduction in segregation experienced by the non-Southern cities during this period.

Correlations with Racial Demographic Factors

Table 2 shows, for Southern and non-Southern regions separately, the correlations of various city characteristics with the change in the proportion of white student enrollment in non-public schools. In the South, both pupil and teacher desegregation (i.e., decreases in the segregation index) were associated with increases in white attendance in non-public schools ($r = .33$ and $.37$ respectively). Outside the South, the relationships were much smaller ($r = .12$ and $.16$), perhaps because, as Table 1 indicated, there was little actual desegregation in Northern cities during the 1960s.

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Table 2 About Here

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Outside the South, however, the non-public share of white enrollment increased more in cities where the total number of white schoolchildren (public plus non-public) declined ($r = -.37$). There was no significant zero-order relationship between these variables for the Southern cities. Among the cities of both regions, the 1960-1970 increase in the non-public sector's share of white enrollment was correlated (about .4) with the black proportion of the 1960 public school pupil population.

Lower black socioeconomic status (fewer homeonwers and lower median family income) was associated with larger increases in the non-public proportion of white enrollment in the South, but not outside the South. Also, in the South there was a large regression towards the mean, with cities with an initially small non-public enrollment among whites experiencing the greatest increase in white enrollment.

MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS

Rationale and Method

Our main interest is largely in whether the racial factors found to be correlated with changes in white non-public school enrollment -- desegregation in the South, decline in the number of school-age whites outside the South, and an initially high concentration of black pupils in both regions -- are causally responsible for the changes in the enrollment distributions that occurred.

The possibility of spurious causal inference from the correlations is obvious. Outside the South, for example, the number of white schoolchildren tended to remain stable or decline more in cities with an older housing stock, and it was in older cities where the black population was large and rapidly growing. Because these older cities also had a greater increase

in "percent non-public" than younger cities, we must be sure that racial factors do not merely mask the effects of aging cities. To take another example, desegregation of students in the South was more extensive in the smaller cities, and it was in the smaller cities that there was a greater increase in non-public enrollments. Thus city size may be a confounding factor as well.

In order to separate out the unique effects of racial factors from other between-city demographic factors, multiple regression procedures were employed for Southern and non-Southern cities separately. Two series of regressions (or "models") were run for each region -- the second one including additional socio-economic variables that were available for only a subset of the cities in each region. Separate regression analyses were performed using three dependent variables: the change (1960 to 1970) in the proportion of all white students (grades K-12) enrolled in non-public schools, the change for the elementary school (K-8) population only, and the change for the high school (9-12) population only.

In the first series of regressions ("model 1") nine predictor variables were employed: five "racial" factors and four "non-racial" factors. The five "racial" factors were percent black in the public schools, 1960; change in the number of white school children (public plus non-public), 1960-1970; change in the number of black schoolchildren, 1960-1970; change in the pupil racial segregation index between 1967 and 1970; and change in the teacher racial segregation index between 1967 and 1970. The four "non-racial" factors were percent of whites enrolled in non-public schools, 1960; percent of housing built before 1950; log of city population, 1960-1970 average; and a dummy variable distinguishing central cities and suburbs.

The second series of regressions ("model 2") added five economic indicators of the white and black city populations as of 1970: median white and median black incomes, white and black homeownership rates, and a measure of concentration of the metropolitan area's high income families (over $50,000; 1959) inside the city limits relative to the overall concentration of the total metropolitan population in the city. To these was added another "social" variable: the proportion of the population that was of foreign stock (immigrant or native of foreign or mixed parentage). These variables, obtained from the data set used to examine additional social and political variables (see below), were available for 35 of the 48 Southern cities and 92 of the 109 non-Southern ones.

The results of the regression analyses are shown in Table 3 for the non-Southern cities and in Table 4 for the South. Analysis of the second model in each table employed a step-wise procedure (after forcing in variables from the first model whose beta-coefficients were at least $\pm$ .12), so not all variables from the first model are included in the second.

Results: Non-Southern Cities

The analysis summarized in Table 3 suggests that, in the non-Southern cities, race-associated demographic variables may, in fact, be even more inherently tied to white school enrollment patterns than the correlations in Table 2 had indicated.

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Table 3 About Here

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Table 2 showed that outside the South, four traits were highly intercorrelated: having a large proportion of blacks among the 1960 public

school students; experiencing a decline in the number of white schoolchildren; having older housing; and having had an initially high percentage of whites enrolled in non-public schools in 1960. Correlations among these variables ranged from .36 to .72 and averaged .52. In the multiple regression equation results, of these four predictors, only the 1960 public school racial composition and the decline in the number of white schoolchildren continued to have large positive coefficients. This result held for all three grade level combinations (K-12, K-8, and 9-12), and for both regression models. In most cases, the standardized regression coefficients -- which ranged from .36 to .53 -- were larger than their corresponding zero-order correlation statistics.

Thus, despite holding constant a good many variables, including age of housing and 1960 level of white usage of non-public schools, gains during the decade by the non-public sector in its share of white enrollment in non-Southern cities were strongly associated with a decline in the number of white schoolchildren attending any school and with an initially large black proportion among the public school pupils.

A third major race-associated variable in the non-Southern city equations was the change in the number of black schoolchildren. Net of the remaining factors considered, including the initial percent black and the change in the number of white schoolchildren, the larger the black pupil population increase during the decade, the larger the increase in the proportion of the city's white pupils who attended non-public schools. (The $\beta$'s for model 2 for the three grade-level combinations were all about .4.)

In the non-Southern cities, then, all three racial demographic variables we considered -- increase in the number of black schoolchildren, decrease in the number of white schoolchildren, and a large percent black in the 1960 public school population -- were associated with increases in the non-public sector's share of white pupil enrollment during the 1960s.

In contrast to the significance of the racial demographic variables, actual school desegregation outside the South during the 1960s did not seem to directly affect non-public enrollment shares. The pupil desegregation variable (change in the dissimilarity index, 1967-1970) did not enter any of the three stepwise regressions run for the non-Southern cities. This result is not surprising, however, because large changes in the size of the pupil segregation index in non-Southern cities were rare -- that is, there was little pupil desegregation occurring in non-Southern cities during those years.

Desegregation of teachers was a significant independent variable in the regression equations. This factor, though, was not related to changes in high school non-public enrollment and appeared important for elementary schools only after taking black and white socioeconomic variables into consideration (the second regression model).

In summary, the statistical pattern of the regression results for the non-Southern cities suggests that the racial demographic composition and the changes in relative numbers of whites and blacks in the city did play a role in changing the existing proportion of white pupils in the non-public sector. Controlling other demographic and socio-economic factors only strengthened the significance of the racial demographic variables in the

overall picture. On the other hand, actual school desegregation was an insignificant factor in the non-Southern region during the period covered by our data.

Results: Southern Cities

Results for the Southern cities differed from those for the non-South, and there were sizable differences between the patterns for elementary school and high school enrollments. Overall, racial factors appear to have played a smaller role in the South, as can be observed in Table 4. The standardized regression coefficient for "percent black, 1960 public schools," the most significant of the racial demographic variables, was only .22 for the second regression model applied to all grade-levels.

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Table 4 About Here

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For predicting the enrollment distribution changes of white elementary school pupils, black socio-economic status was as significant as the absolute numbers or numerical increases of whites and blacks. Increases in the non-public share of white elementary school enrollment were greater in those Southern cities with particularly low median black family incomes ($\beta$ = -.39). Modest relationships were found for several other demographic and socio-economic variables. The beta coefficient for "percent increase, number of black schoolchildren, 1960-1970," although only .18, was impressive if only because the zero-order association had been a negative .19. On the other hand, school desegregation -- which had been highly correlated with non-public school enrollment changes in Southern cities -- was not a factor in the regression equations for Southern elementary school enrollments.

The high school data for the Southern cities suggest an even broader relationship between race and non-public school enrollment changes than we found for the non-Southern cities.

The second regression model's results for Southern high school enrollments included seven race-related variables that had beta coefficients above .15. These variables included aspects of racial demography, racial socio-economic status, and school desegregation. Only two--a low black homeownership rate and a large increase in the number of black schoolchildren--had statistically significant associations with white non-public school gains. However, the small N (35 cities) in this equation did limit the likelihood of finding statistically significant relationships.

School desegregation variables were more significant at the high school level in the South than they were anywhere else in the regression analysis, although even here the beta coefficients were only modest in size, ranging from .15 to .23. Also, it should be noted that the Southern high school results resembled those for non-Southern cities in the importance of demographic predictors: in both regions increases in the number of black schoolchildren and declines in the number of white schoolchildren were associated with increases in the non-public share of white enrollment ($\beta$ = .40 and .27 respectively; model 2).

For Southern cities, however, the most significant predictor in the regression equations at both the elementary and high school levels had nothing to do with race. Cities with very small non-public enrollments in 1960 were establishing and filling non-public schools, independently of the effects of public school desegregation or the racial composition

of the public schools. While the zero-order correlation had been substantial for this variable (percent enrolled in non-public schools, 1960), the standardized regression coefficients were very large, as high as .62 for the second regression model.

The relationship between racial factors and changes in white non-public school enrollments cannot be so easily summarized for the Southern cities as it was for the non-Southern. At the elementary school level, racial factors did not appear to be important during the 1960s, although the racial composition of the city's 1960 public school population and the economic status of its black population probably did play a small role. At the high school level, a broader range of factors--including racial changes in the sizes of the black and white school populations, school desegregation, and the relative economic conditions of black and white families--all suggest that a more substantial causal interrelationship was involved.

SUMMARY

Overall, though, in both the South and the non-South, city differences along race-related dimensions were an important element in the differential trends in white non-public school enrollments during the 1960s. It is important to understand, however, that even the substantial beta coefficients reported for some of the demographic variables do not imply that racial factors were responsible for determining the particular proportion of white students in a given city who enrolled in non-public schools in 1970. By far the biggest determinant of that proportion is the city's prior record of non-public enrollment. Given the rather large initial

(1960) disparities among the cities in non-public school enrollments (Figure 1), the racial factors discussed in this paper did not produce a substantially different rank-ordering of the cities in 1970. Nevertheless, to the extent that cities did experience variations in their trend of non-public enrollments during the 1960s, our results suggest strongly that racial factors--predominantly the relative sizes and changes in the sizes of the black and white pupil populations--did play a significant role in the differential trends in non-public enrollments that were observed.

Of course, it is possible that non-racial factors omitted from the regression models were in fact responsible for the effects that the existing models attributed to racially related demographic changes, population composition, and racial desegregation of schools. However, the stability of the coefficients for many of the racially-tinged variables across different models (Southern, non-Southern, elementary, high school, smaller and larger samples of cities employing different sets of control variables) suggests that the effects, at least for the decade that passed eight years ago, were real.

AN ELABORATION OF THE MODEL USING SOCIO-POLITICAL VARIABLES

Assuming that changes in the racial demography of the city were responsible for increases in the proportion of the city's whites who selected non-public schooling, it may be possible to specify the kinds of changes in the social climate resulting from these demographic changes that in turn affected the school enrollment decisions of individual white parents. For example, to what extent might increases in the number of

black youths in the city have led to greater civil rights activities and to public displays of ethnic consciousness that, in turn, resulted in decisions by white parents to select private schooling for their children? Although there may be no definitive answers to such questions, we can examine some measures of city political and racial climate to investigate whether such variables account in any way for these relationships.

Eighty-six of our 109 non-Southern cities were among 91 cities chosen from a national probability sample of medium- and large-sized cities and studied in a late 1960s investigation into civil rights and school politics in the non-Southern U.S. (Kirby, Harris, and Crain, 1973). The study was based on structured interviews, conducted largely in 1968, with black and white civic and political leaders, elected and appointed city and school officials, and leaders of civil rights organizations. Indices from previous studies using these data, including Kirby, Harris, and Crain (1973), Morlock (1973), and Becker (1974), have been aggregated on a permanent data archive. The indices measure such dimensions of race and school politics as the level of controversy over race in the community, elite satisfaction with the public schools, militancy of the civil rights movement at the time, and so on.

Many of these measures of racial climate and local political culture were related to increases in the use of non-public schooling by white families. (See Column 1 of Table 5.) For example, the average level of controversy over racial issues in the city between 1960 and 1968, as reported by three selected informants (a city newspaper editor, a white politician, and a major civic leader) correlated .20 with changes in the non-

public share of white enrollment. Similarly, the number of black school board members and the number of blacks named as being among the city's civic leadership by at least two informants out of five (the city editor, a past school board head, a mayor's assistant, a white political leader and a major civic leader) were also correlated with increases in non-public enrollments (r = .27 and .32 respectively).

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Table 5 About Here

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However, most of these variables were also associated with the overall racial composition of the city. (The numbers of black school board members and black civic leaders, for example, correlated respectively .72 and .36 with percent black in 1960 public schools--Table 5, column 2). Consequently, when such demographic factors were held constant, the residual effects of these socio-political variables were generally either negligible or in the reverse direction of their zero-order correlation (columns 3 to 5).

For example, multiple regression results indicated that, controlling on racial demographic factors, the greater the number of black school board members, the more the non-public share of white enrollment declined. (The betas ranged from .17 to .24, depending on the control variables included.) Similarly, the "earlier" that black civil rights protests occurred in the city, and the more varied they were--net of racial demographic factors--the greater the decline in non-public school utilization by remaining whites. (This result was found in two of three regressions, but not when the relative presence of the metropolitan elite was controlled

for.)

These results suggest an unexpected but not necessarily unbelievable pattern. The more visible the black population in the political and civic culture of the city (relative to its proportion in the population), the less likely that whites will flee public for private schooling. Early public demonstration of the need for blacks to be taken seriously politically (early and varied black protests) combined with an early recognition of the political and social rights of the black population (blacks appointed or elected to the school board) may produce, after a while, a more institutionalized and less fear-provoking environment for race-related political conflict resolution. Remaining whites--those not scared off by the sheer numbers involved--may become more accustomed to life (and public schooling) in a city whose political culture provides for a legitimate outlet for political grievances of a formerly segregated racial minority.

A second pattern observed in these data tends toward a more traditional interpretation. First, the higher the demonstration of white citizen opposition to school desegregation (as reported by a school board member active in dealing with school civil rights questions), the greater the increase in non-public school utilization by whites. Secondly, the higher the level of controversy in the city over education and over public issues in general, the greater the increase in the non-public schools' share of white pupils ($\beta$ about .13). Finally, the poorer the evaluation given by five elite informants concerning the performance of their city's schools in educating young people relative to those in other cities, the greater the increase in the non-public enrollment share of whites ($\beta$ = .13 to .15).

These three variables are related to areas of explicit public controversy about the public school system--conflict in general, desegregation in particular, and an evaluation of the system's performance. Thus, explicit conflict about racial issues and about other aspects of education--as distinct from expressions and recognition of black political power--does result in flight from the public schools by whites. It may also result in flight into non-public schools by blacks, although we have not addressed that question in our studies to date.

The purpose of inserting socio-political variables into the analysis was to attempt to account for some of the partial associations between racial-demographic variables and non-public enrollment changes. In none of the regressions, however, did regression coefficients for these variables decline. Many, in fact, were stronger with the socio-political environments held constant. Thus, regardless of the independent effect of these socio-political variables, they do not account for the way that the changing racial composition of schoolage populations produced increases in the use of non-public schools by white families.

CONCLUSIONS

We cannot predict the long-term consequences of white movement into non-public schools in cities with large and growing black populations and declining white populations. For example, it may be that over the long run, non-public schools will serve as an integrating force by retaining whites in integrated cities who would otherwise migrate to segregated suburbs. Such whites could constitute a basis upon which new trends of re-urbanization of white families could build. On the other hand, the

typical transition from all-white to all-black neighborhoods and public schools might only be slowed a bit.

Regardless of the long-term consequences, it seems clear that during the 1960s, changes in the non-public sector's share of white enrollment were affected by the racial composition and demographic charges occurring in the environment. While it is questionable whether the modest amount of desegregation that was occurring during the period played any role, fear of potential desegregation, possibly caused by people's perception of racial proportions and shifts in the population, may have been significant.

In any event, these results suggest that policy changes aimed at providing non-public schools with additional financial resources may have their greatest impact in raising non-public enrollments in cities with large black populations and possibly in cities undergoing school desegregation. Whether, over the long run, such assistance will result in greater or lesser neighborhood and school segregation, however, cannot be foretold.

Notes

1. It is also important to note that factors associated with changes in the proportion of white students who are non-public enrollees may not be the same factors associated with the current level of non-public enrollment by whites. In other words, identifying determinants of a trend is not the same as identifying determinants of an initial state. In fact, as shown later in the text, increases in non-public enrollments have occurred to a greater degree in cities with very little initial non-public enrollment.
2. It should be pointed out that our data refer to cities and their changes during the previous decade. While each city in our study may have experienced different sorts of changes in the current decade, there are no indications that our findings are particularly time-bound to the 1960's. However, their consistency should of course be tested in several years, after the 1980 Census figures become available.
3. Unfortunately, there is not perfect comparability between the 1960 and 1970 census categories for measuring counts by race. The 1960 census included tabulations for whites and nonwhites; the 1970, for total persons and blacks. In this analysis, regrettably, the 1960 "white" is counted as equivalent to the 1970 "total minus black" or "non-black." The 1960 "non-white" is considered equivalent to the 1970 "black." It is hoped that the movement of Oriental and American Indian populations from the "black" count in 1960 to the "white" count for 1970 does not distort the intercity differences in the data. It is believed that significant errors will not result from employing this procedure.

   The vast majority of persons of Hispanic background are included

Notes

under the "white" category in both censuses. Although there are separate tabulations for this group for 1970, there are no equivalent data from the 1960 census. Consequently, this group could not be removed from the "white" count to get a measure of changes in "Anglo white" non-public enrollments between 1960 and 1970.

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Figure 1

Percent Enrolled in Non-Public Schools, White Pupil Population
1960 and 1970

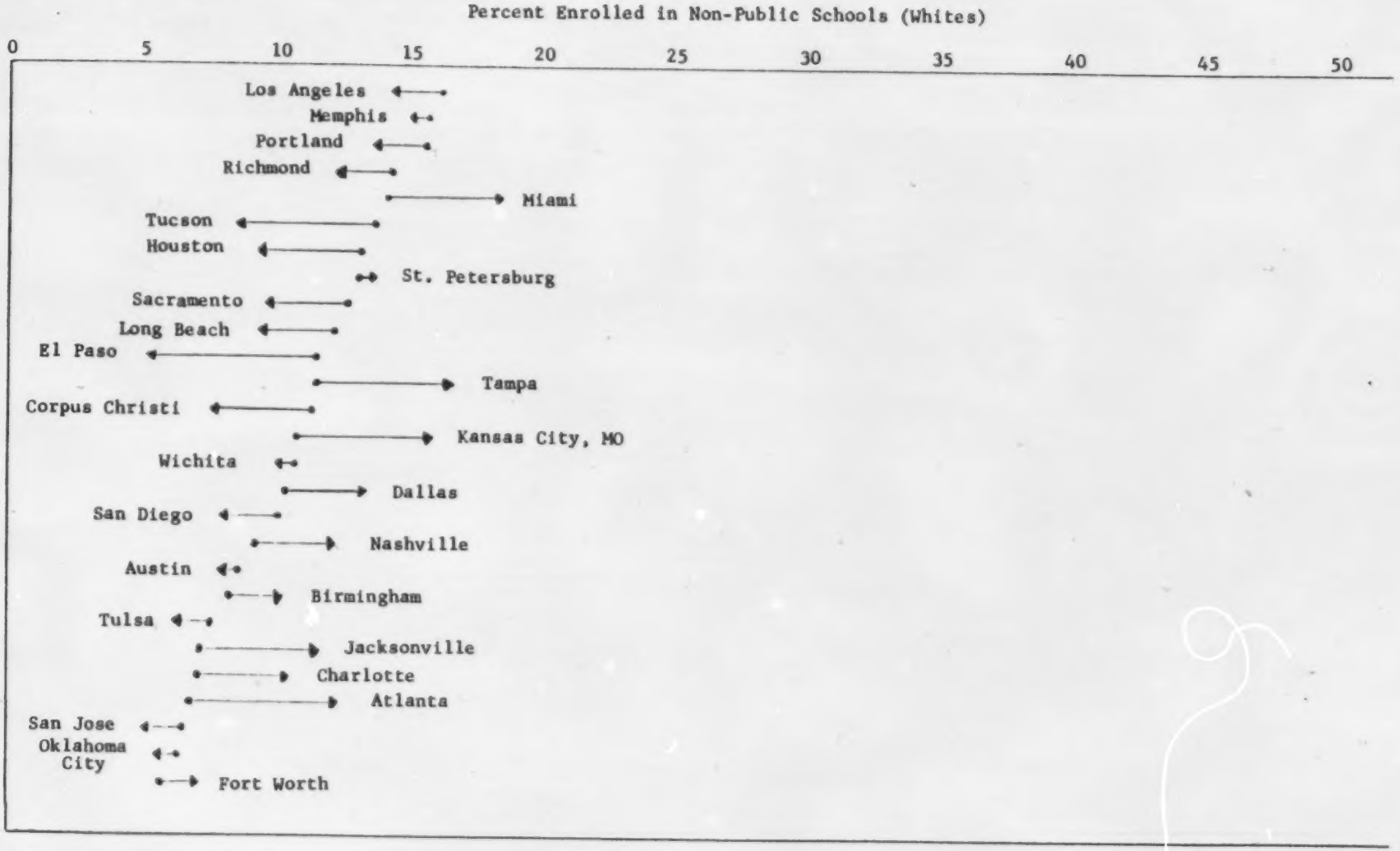


Figure 1, cont.

Table 1

Means and Standard Deviations, South and non-South

| Variables | SOUTH N=48 except where noted | | NON-SOUTH N=109 except where noted | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Mean | Stand. Dev. | Mean | Stand. Dev. |
| Dependent: | | | | |
| Change in the proportion of white schoolchildren who attended non-public schools, 1960-1970 | | | | |
| All grades, K-12 | +1.0% | 4.4 | -1.9% | 4.5 |
| Elementary, K-8 | +1.9% | 4.6 | -2.7% | 4.5 |
| High School, 9-12 | -0.7% | 4.3 | +0.5% | 5.7 |
| Independent:* | | | | |
| Race-related | | | | |
| Percent Black, Public Schools, 1960 | 32.5% | 14.4 | 20.8% | 14.8 |
| Percent Increase, Number Black Schoolchildren, '60-'70 | +43.1% | 29.7 | +76.2% | 67.0 |
| Percent Increase, Number White Schoolchildren, '60-'70 | +30.0% | 74.4 | +7.9% | 39.6 |
| Change in Pupil Racial Segregation Index, Pub. Sch., '67-'70 | -13.5 | 13.5 (N=45) | -6.0 | 11.8 (N=95) |
| Change in Teacher Racial Segregation Index, '67-'70 | -54.4 | 26.3 | -7.9 | 17.3 |
| Non-race variables | | | | |
| Proportion enrolled in non-public schools, whites, 1960 | 12.7% | 7.9 | 24.4% | 11.4 |
| Age of Housing (Percent housing built before 1950) | 47.2% | 14.3 | 66.0% | 18.2 |
| Percent Foreign Stock, 1970 population | 9.6% | 11.4 (N=34) | 20.8% | 10.5 (N=80) |

Sources: U.S. Census Bureau, Census of Population 1960, Volume 1, Tables 73 and 77; U.S. Census Bureau, General Social and Economic Characteristics 1970, Tables 83 and 91; U.S. Commerce Department, County and City Data Book, 1972; Reynolds Farley, "Racial Integration in the Public Schools, 1967 to 1972," Sociological Focus 8 (January 1975), 3-26. (The segregation index is described more fully in the Farley paper. It is the dissimilarity index used by Taeuber and others.)

*Only the major variables in the analysis and those with major South/non-South differences are shown here.

Table 2

Correlations with Increases in Non-Public School Shares of White Students, 1960-1970

| Dependent Variable: Increase in Percent Non-Public, Whites, All Grades | SOUTH N=48 except where noted | NON-SOUTH N=109 except where noted |
|---|---|---|
| Independent Variables: | | |
| Percent Black 1960 Public Schools | +.36 | +.44 |
| Percent Increase, Number Black Schoolchildren, 1960-1970 | -.17 | +.09 |
| Percent Increase, Number White Schoolchildren, 1960-1970 | +.11 | -.37 |
| Decrease in Pupil Racial Segregation (Dissimilarity Index) 1967-1970 Public Schools | +.33 (N=45) | +.12 (N=95) |
| Decrease in Teacher Racial Segregation, 1967-1970 Public Schools | +.37 (N=45) | +.16 (N=95) |
| Proportion enrolled in Non-Public Schools, Whites, 1960 | -.42 | +.04 |
| Size of City (LN, Avg. 1960, 1970 population) | -.23 | -.27 |
| Age of Housing (Percent built before 1950) | +.10 | +.22 |
| Central City (1) vs. Suburb (0) | +.18 | -.15 |
| Percent Foreign Stock, 1970 Population | -.16 (N=35) | +.06 (N=92) |
| Median Income, White Families, 1970 | +.06 (N=35) | -.01 (N=92) |
| Median Income, Black Families, 1970 | -.30 (N=35) | -.05 (N=92) |
| Percent Homeowners, White Families, 1970 | +.24 (N=35) | +.12 (N=92) |
| Percent Homeowners, Black Families, 1970 | -.33 (N=35) | -.18 (N=92) |
| Relative Presence of Metropolitan Elite* | +.14 (N=35) | +.11 (N=92) |

*Residual of regressing the proportion of metropolitan area's families with ≥ $50,000 income (1969) who reside in this city on the corresponding proportion for all metropolitan area families.

Table 3: Regression Results for Non-Southern Cities
Changes in Percent Enrolled in Non-Public Schools, Whites, 1960-1970

| Non-South | All Grades | | Elementary Enrollment | | High School Enrollment | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 (N = 95) | Model 2 (N = 80) | Model 1 (N = 95) | Model 2 (N = 80) | Model 1 (N = 95) | Model 2 (N = 80) |
| | B | B | B | B | B | B |
| (1) Percent Black, Public Schools, 1960 | +.41* | +.50* | +.36* | +.42* | +.37* | +.51* |
| (2) Percent Increase, # Black Schoolchildren, '60-'70 | +.30* | +.40* | +.29* | +.38* | +.24* | +.38* |
| (3) Percent Decrease, # White Schoolchildren, '60-'70 | +.46* | +.42* | +.43* | +.36* | +.48* | +.53* |
| (4) Decrease in Pupil Segregation Index, 1967-70 | +.04 | -- | +.06 | -- | -.03 | -- |
| (5) Decrease in Teacher Segregation Index, '67-70 | +.08 | +.22* | +.10 | +.22* | +.02 | +.12 |
| (6) % Enrolled in Non-public Schools, Whites, 1960 | -.20 | -.29* | -.23* | -.34* | -.05 | -- |
| (7) Age of Housing | -.08 | -- | -.11 | -- | -.01 | -.14 |
| (8) Central City Status | +.05 | +.12 | -.01 | -- | +.18* | +.20* |
| (9) Size of City | -.26* | -.22* | -.21* | -.16 | -.31* | -.22* |
| (10) % Foreign Stock, 1970 | -- | +.43* | -- | +.42* | -- | +.30* |
| (11) Median Black Income, 1970 | -- | -.14 | -- | -.20* | -- | -- |
| (12) White Homeownership rate, 1970 | -- | +.16 | -- | -- | -- | -- |
| (13) Relative Presence of Metropolitan Elite | -- | +.21* | -- | -- | -- | +.28* |
| $R^2$ | .48 | .59 | .39 | .53 | .52 | .63 |

*p < .05

Table 4: Regression Results for Southern Cities
Changes in Percent Enrolled in Non-Public Schools, Whites, 1960-1970

| South | All Grades | | Elementary Enrollment | | High School Enrollment | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Model 1 (N = 45) | Model 2 (N = 34) | Model 1 (N = 45) | Model 2 (N = 34) | Model 1 (N = 45) | Model 2 (N = 34) |
| | B | B | B | B | B | B |
| (1) Percent Black, Public Schools, 1960 | +.43* | +.22 | +.44* | +.26 | +.25 | +.17 |
| (2) Percent Increase, # Black school-children, '60-'70 | -.02 | +.19 | -.10 | +.18 | +.16 | +.40* |
| (3) Percent Decrease, # White school-children, '60-'70 | +.08 | -- | +.03 | -- | +.22 | +.27 |
| (4) Decrease in Pupil Segregation Index, 1967-1970 | +.13 | +.10 | +.06 | -- | +.23 | +.21 |
| (5) Decrease in Teacher Segregation Index, '67-'70 | +.14 | +.03 | +.15 | -.00 | +.15 | +.16 |
| (6) Percent Enrolled in Non-Public Schools, Whites, 1960 | -.60* | -.62* | -.51* | -.60* | -.51* | -.45* |
| (7) Age of Housing | -.06 | -- | -.10 | -- | +.03 | -- |
| (8) Central City Status | -.09 | -- | -.08 | -- | -.08 | -- |
| (9) Size of City | +.12 | +.02 | +.10 | -- | +.11 | -- |
| (10) Median Black Income, 1970 | -- | -.30 | -- | -.39* | -- | -- |
| (11) Median White Income, 1970 | -- | -- | -- | -- | -- | -.27 |
| (12) Black Homeownership Rate, 1970 | -- | -.33* | -- | -.24 | -- | -.34* |
| (13) Relative Presence of Metropolitan Elite | -- | -- | -- | +.20 | -- | -- |
| $R^2$ | .45 | .58 | .42 | .57 | .36 | .50 |

*p < .05

Table 5: Adding Socio-Political Variables to the Regression Model for 86 Northern Cities

| Socio-political variables from Kirby, et al. (1973) | Dependent Variable: Increase in Percent Non-Public Enrollment, Whites, 1960-1970, All Grades | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Zero-order r | Control Var: % Black, 1960 Pub. Schools r | Standardized regression coefficients, from pairwise present matrix (N=66 to 86) using demographic and other control variables shown below.* | | |
| | | | Regr. 1 | Regr. 2 | Regr. 3 |
| White citizen demonstrated opposition to school deseg. | +.32 | +.14 | +.27 | +.14 | -- |
| Earliness and variety of black civil rights protest | +.04 | +.51 | -.23 | -.21 | -- |
| Controversy over education issues in city since 1960 | +.27 | +.12 | +.13 | -- | -- |
| Quality of public schools' education (as viewed by elite informants) | -.39 | -.37 | -.15 | -.13 | -.13 |
| Number of black school board members | +.27 | +.72 | -.24 | -.17 | -.21 |
| Number of black protests in city since 1960 | +.00 | +.28 | -.14 | -- | -- |
| Presence of court-order to desegregate (by 1971) | -.03 | -.05 | +.12 | -- | -.13 |
| Countervailing power to business domination of city politics | +.19 | +.26 | +.10 | -- | +.12 |
| Level of controversy in city since 1960 over variety of issue areas | +.24 | +.21 | -- | +.14 | +.13 |
| Number of blacks among civic elite | +.32 | +.36 | -- | -- | -- |
| Controversy over racial issues in city since 1960 | +.20 | +.09 | -- | -- | -- |
| Percent of black students transferred and resulting in less segregation | +.02 | -.12 | -- | -- | -- |
| $R^2$, all variables shown here plus control variables | | | .52 | .58 | .62 |
| $R^2$, control variables only | | | .30 | .48 | .53 |
| Variance added by socio-political variables | | | .22 | .10 | .09 |

* Control variables:

Regr. 1 = % black, pub. sch., 1960 ($\beta$ = .60), % incr., no. black schoolchildren ($\beta$ = .32), % decr., no. white schoolchildren ($\beta$ = .41).

Regr. 2 = (as above), % black (.70), % incr. black (.33), % decr., white (.47), LN city size (-.17), % non-public, 1960 (-.39), teacher deseg. (.20), % foreign stock (.26).

Regr. 3 = % black (.50), % incr. blacks (.35), % decr., whites (.43), LN city size (-.19), % non-public, 1960 (-.27), teacher deseg. (.27), % foreign stock (.26), relative presence of metropolitan elite (.28).